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requested. The new *pĕdanda* then assumes his priestly name, and thenceforward may recite the *wedas*, pronounce the *mantras*, sprinkle holy water, use the *bajra*, the symbolic thunderbolt, make the *manchagiri*, the 'five offerings', and prepare and distribute holy water every morning.

14

The Privileged Position of the Priests

The priests held a very prominent place in the former Balinese principalities. Though law books such as the *Widi Pĕpinchatan* and the *Siwasasana* state explicitly that the priests should follow royal regulations, the same books also point out that it is the duty of the ruler to take the directions of the priests into consideration in issuing such regulations, for the ruler and the priests exercise the power of government together. Elsewhere the two are compared to a helmsman and a ship, which cannot reach a certain goal without one another.

Nor were the priests at all encumbered by royal decrees. If the ruler needed something from them he had to request it. They were exempt from taxes and services, a privilege they still claim as regards income tax and commutation of soccage service. Various of their privileges were also shared by their subordinates who enjoyed the 'shadow of the banyans'.

Ordinary justice and usual punishments were unfit for them. Judiciary power was exercised either directly by the ruler or by the mentor of the accused priest, while in dubious cases the whole congregation of priests gathered together for a decision.

It goes without saying that the word of an ordinary man was considered of much less value than that of a priest. In many cases the latter could remove every suspicion by means of a purification rite in the presence of his mentor. The costs of this ceremony fell to the accuser, who was punished besides.

If a priest was really shown to be guilty, the purification was in many cases preceded by a pilgrimage consisting of bathing in the sea alternated with a stay in the mountains. There were three

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538 leading temples (*sadkayangan*) of Bali, the sanctuary of Bĕsakih at the
771 southern foot of Gunung Agung. The legend goes on to relate that Siwa, in his manifestation as Batara Guru, descended for a visit to the temple, followed by 'the gods of all the directions'. The 'gods of all the directions' is a reference to the eight guardians, and the specific link with Batara Guru suggests a certain relationship with ancestor worship. The tie between Majapahit and the largest state sanctuary on Bali, the symbol of the unity of the land, is also significant.

771 Seen against this background the *nawa-sanga* acquires more
643 meaning as a royal emblem or attribute. Phenomenologically the ruler is viewed as the receptacle of divine power on earth: he is not only the representative of the deity but an incarnation, especially of Wisnu, while with respect to the realm over which he is placed he is the maintainer of the cosmic order, and as such the *lingga* of the world. As the *lingga* of the world he appears in the aspect of Siwa on earth, and just as Siwa is the centre from which the eight guardians of the directions emanate, in the same way the ruler is the centre from which the secular power in its various aspects of rule and administration emanates.

181 It is within the framework of this pattern of thought that one
643 must consider the fact that in 1947 the federal state of East Indonesia adopted the *nawa-sanga* as the emblem for its presidential flag, while on Bali the black-white-and-red, symbolic of the trinity, is used for the flags on the automobiles of the autonomous princes. In the context in which they are used, both symbols express the same thing: the authority which maintains order and makes itself felt from the centre to the periphery. In this context the trinity is considered as an abbreviated form of the *nawa-sanga* representing in it the line from north (Wisnu) over east (Iswara) to south (Brahma).

792 After this long digression let us return to the *chandi* in Pura
769 Taman Ayun. We have already seen that there is a connection
643 between the *chandi* (sometimes also called *prasada* or *lingga*) and the royal ancestor cult given expression in the *paibon*. After the

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comments above on the phenomenological significance of the ruler as the representative of cosmic power on earth, the *lingga* of the world, it is not difficult to recognize in the *chandi* the symbol of this royal attribute.

It is tempting to draw the early Javanese *chandis* and the cult of the early Javanese rulers, who were absorbed into some specific deity after their death, into the discussion. But this would lead too far afield, and it must suffice to comment that though there is agreement in essentials, there is also an important difference between the early Javanese *chandi* and the modern Balinese structure, in that the latter never serves as a final resting place for the cremated remains of a deceased person.

Aside from those in Pura Taman Ayun there are also *chandis* in Pura Prasada at Kapal and in several clan temples. It is noteworthy that *chandis* have only been found in clan temples of *ksatriyas*, and only in cases where a descent from Majapahit is claimed. In popular parlance *chandis* are comparable to *merus* of brick such as are to be found in Taman Bali, Manggis, Babi, and a number of other *desas* in Karangasĕm. A small model roughly a yard high, carved out of a single piece of stone and with a profiling that seemed much more eastern Javanese than Balinese, was found in the *pura desa* of Tista in Karangasĕm in 1938. The largest and best known *chandi* is located in the *pĕmĕrajan* of the former ruling house of Kĕsiman.[1] We shall return below to the *chandi* in Pura Prasada.

The *chandis* in Pura Taman Ayun are not the only structures in the temple representing Siwa, and through him the eight guardians of the directions or the *nawa-sanga*. Both in the central square and in the inner court the latter are depicted in detail. At a short distance beyond the gate to the inner court there is a large pavilion of the gods on the base of which the eight guardians of the directions are depicted, and in the central square the *nawa-sanga* is represented by an ornamental column set in the middle of a low-lying pond.

The *chandis* in the inner court, the pavilion of the gods, and the monument in the pond are in a sense related to one another. The

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and the system of state temples. The material for an answer to this question is not yet available, but there are certain pointers. In both the village temple system and that of the state temples there is an antithesis between sanctuaries for the veneration of the gods of the upper world and those of the nether world. Clear examples are the temple complexes of Luhur, Pĕtali, Tambawaras, and Bĕsikalung in Tabanan, all of which manifest the basic pattern of the three-temple system within their complexes: each has within its walls a *pura puseh*, a *pura pĕnataran*, and a *pura dalĕm*. To what extent this system is to be detected in the state temples of Mĕngwi in the position occupied by Pura Taman Ayun as against the mountain sanctuaries of Bon and Tiingan on the one hand and the sea temples of Ulu Batu and Sĕkenan on the other needs further investigation.

In closing a summary may be given of what can be deduced from the evidence at this point. The oldest dynastic sanctuary of the former realm of Mĕngwi is Pura Prasada at Kapal. Other state temples are Pura Taman Ayun and the mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon. It is not impossible that other, less important temples may also belong to the system, while the *puras* of Sĕkenan, Ulun Siwi, and Ulu Batu, located near the seashore, also play a rôle in connection with it.

All the state temples mentioned are characterized by a certain link with the veneration of the dynastic ancestors, who in their deified aspect are conceived of as having been absorbed into the *nawa-sanga*. In each of the state sanctuaries there are chapels for the three chief mountains of Bali (Gunung Agung, Batur, and Batu Kau), the other state temples of the realm, and the *puras* of Ulun Siwi, Sĕkenan, and Ulu Batu: locally these temples are all grouped together under the designation of *sadkayangan*.

In the distribution of those temples through the former realm, the highland area, the centre, and the coast form the cardinal points. It is clear from the association of the royal ancestor cult with the *nawa-sanga* that the significance of the dynasty for the realm is conceived in cosmic terms: in the same way that the

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792 771 659 [643 769] *nawa-sanga* is charged with the maintenance of the cosmic order, the royal house is the fountain from which flows the well-being of the realm. In this connection the veneration of the mountain sanctuaries is of significance, since the mountain serves as a place of contact with the world of the gods and as a cosmic symbol, while there is also a link between such temples and the beneficent irrigation water.

In the broader sense the worship group for state sanctuaries consists of all the inhabitants of the realm. However, in earlier times the ruler usually charged certain village communities with the maintenance of the temples, granting exemption from taxes and services as a compensation. An example of the way in which the obligation of temple maintenance was organized is to be found in the mountain sanctuaries of Tiingan and Bon, which are primarily cared for by the core villagers of four *pĕrbĕkĕlans;* taken together these core villagers are called the *pĕmaksan*, the worship group in the strict sense. The system of charging certain communities or groups of persons with the maintenance of sanctuaries finds a parallel in early Java in the way in which exemptions were granted to *dharmas* and *manggalas*, and later in the system of *pĕrdikan desas*.

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which forms part of the worship community of the *desa* of Bule- 621
leng with regard to the three village temples. Also in the case of 628
the *banjar* of Tĕgal, however, caring for ground magic is a matter 794
concerning primarily the *desa* as a whole: it is the *desa* that takes
the lead in the Nyĕpi ceremonial.

There is no known tradition regarding the origin of Pura Pĕ- 778
mayun, nor can more than a few indications be derived from the
names of the gods venerated. It is possible to establish a link with
the semi-historical, semi-legendary hero and ruler of Buleleng, I
Gusti Panji Sakti. The chief of the temple's attributes, a sacred
creese, is said to derive from him. Furthermore it is required that
on placing objects of any magical significance in the bases or cor-
nices of temple structures after restorations a descendant of Panji
Sakti must be present to perform the symbolic act. (This is, in
fact, also true for other sanctuaries in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, even for
household and family temples.) The main altar, oriented towards
the east, is, moreover, dedicated to Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji, a
fact that points towards relations with the large *desa* of Panji lying
to the southwest.

The sources throw little light on the special nature of the relation
between Pura Pĕmayun and Panji Sakti. Panji Sakti's creese,
which serves as the palladium (*pĕjĕnĕngan*) of the temple, is kept
in a special building, a sort of safe in the form of a chapel standing
in the *pĕmangku*'s compound, and is brought to light to serve as a
temple attribute only on the anniversary of Pura Pĕmayun. A
pĕjĕnĕngan is an object of supernatural origin into which the deity
descends and resides, and from which he rules (*jĕnĕng*). It is at
the same time a sacral object providing legitimation for a temple
or a person. Hence Panji Sakti's creese serves to corroborate the
link with the temples in the *desa* of Panji.

Various royal families possess a *pĕjĕnĕngan* serving to demonstrate 643
that their descent is legitimate and has been confirmed by the 778
deity. In such cases the *pĕjĕnĕngan* comes to be a symbol of state.
Prominent families also sometimes have a *pĕjĕnĕngan*. Weapons are
by no means rare among the *pĕjĕnĕngans* belonging to the temples.
More frequent, however, are other objects such as statues, coins,

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643 and ornaments, antiquities such as zodiac goblets and bronze
778 *kĕntongans*, epigraphs in bronze and other inscriptions, and in many cases stones that are remarkable in one way or another.

The following tale is told of the origin of Panji Sakti's creese. Batara Dalĕm – a general title used to designate the ruler of Klungkung – had forty retainers and wished to have a creese made for each of them. The creeses were given the names of vassals known from history. (Panji Sakti's creese, however, is called I Baru Sĕmang.) When the forty creeses were finished and Batara Dalĕm distributed them among his retainers it appeared that there was one left over. All forty were handed in again and counted, and to everyone's amazement there were no more than forty in all. Again the creeses were distributed, and again there was one too many. No matter what stratagems were applied, the riddle could not be solved. Later Batara Dalĕm gave the extra creese to Panji Sakti, who had been brought up at the court of Klungkung and was then still called I Barak, that is to say 'the Red'. With the creese he killed a certain Ngakan Gĕndis nearby the *desa* of Panji. In this way, then, there is a connection between Pura Pĕmayun and the Klungkung dynasty, the embodiment of the Javanese-Balinese heritage.

This is the oral tradition. A study of the abundant material on Panji Sakti would no doubt lead to further commentary and conclusions.[2] The place where Panji Sakti is supposed to have lived is still pointed out in the village of Panji. In many southern Balinese villages there are tales of expeditions he led,[3] while he is also supposed to have fought in Balambangan. Both the ruler of Buleleng and the *jĕro anyar* at Sukasada trace their descent from him.

3

Pĕmaksan and Pĕsaren

792 As is the case for a great many temples in Buleleng, within the
575 Pura Pĕmayun worship group there are smaller groups of persons who are inclined to take a more active part in religion than the masses. These groups comprise two closely cooperating organi-

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326 114 These authentic documents, which do not represent a traditional historiography such as is contained in the *lontar* literature, but reflect with documentary reliability the actual conditions at the time of their dating, demonstrate that before the arrival of Hindu culture on Java and Bali the *desa* was the political unit. All traditional indigenous power was vested in the *desa* authorities. And in the *desa* the smiths (including the blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths) were among the important craftsmen represented by an *ĕmpu*, a 'master' (smith).

463 823 565 This is true on Bali even today; specific functions in the village community are still performed by members of specific classes: *pasĕk*, *kĕbayan*, *pande*, and so forth.[5] All metal was and is considered by Indonesians as magically dangerous, magically 'charged', and anyone who desires to be in daily contact with it must himself have magic power at his disposal, since otherwise there are great risks involved. For this reason the smiths constituted a separate genealogical group in which not only the technique of forging was kept secret but certain magical craft usages were retained – usages in connection both with the initiation of apprentice-sons and with the tools of the trade, which on Bali even today may only be used after certain *mantras* have been recited. De Kat Angelino published these *mantras* in his instructive study,[6] and I have also found them listed in the 'codex of the smiths', the *Prasasti Sirá Pande Ĕmpu*, to which I shall return below.

326 643 With the establishment and expansion of royal authority, and hand in hand with it that of the priests, who were also made members of the judiciary newly instituted after the Hindu model – in a word, with the rise and development of the Hindu-Javanese state, – it goes without saying that the older crafts and social forces were driven into the background.

Despite the Hinduism which he officially professed, however, the early Javanese or Balinese ruler was Indonesian to the core, and the magic power of the *pande wĕsi* was just as real to him as to every other Javanese or Balinese. In order not to turn that magic power against it, but rather in its favour, it seemed to the court group (the ruler and the priests, each with a vast host of subordi-

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nates) to be the best policy to attach the magic force to the *puri* or *kraton*. The epigraphs present a clear picture of a constantly increasing dependence of these crafts on the palace, the symbol of the Hindu-Javanese state. This was all the more desirable since they had traditionally enjoyed great prestige.

This is perhaps a proper place to touch on the question of the *sudras*, since it is a very important matter not only as regards the smiths, but also in connection with various other groups that have repeatedly given trouble to the Dutch authorities on Bali. I need only recall the *bujangga* or *sĕngguhu* affair in Mĕngwi. Lekkerkerker[7] and later Korn[8] pointed out in their dissertations that the use of the *agamas* or Hindu-Balinese law books by the Courts of Kĕrta in their adjudications is largely legal fiction. The same thing is true as regards the three-caste (*triwangsa*) system. In both cases canon law from elsewhere has nominally been retained and applied, while in actuality social relations on Bali have continued to be governed by traditional *adat* concepts. The relation between *adat* law and Hindu canon law in early Java and present-day Bali might well be compared to that between early Germanic law and Christian canon law in medieval Europe.

A few further comments on the *triwangsa* system may be appropriate at this point.[9] In the homeland of Hinduism the caste system was a stratification imposed on the conquered autochthonous population by the Aryans; on Bali it was perhaps a system imported from the Javanese realm of Majapahit. Up to the present no data have been found regarding a *triwangsa* structure on Bali before the Majapahit period, or at least before the beginning of Javanese influence during the reign of Erlangga in the early eleventh century.[10] The Majapahit influence – which does not date merely from the fall off Majapahit, thus in the late fifteenth century, but was strong from the time of Ayam Wuruk's reign, that is to say since around 1350 – transformed the direct Hindu-Balinism which had preceded it into a Hindu-Javanese Balinism.

In the *triwangsa* system the first caste was that of the Brahmins, from whose families the *pĕdandas* came. The second caste was that

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to create councils in each region of Bali, plus an all-Bali council above them. Acceptance of the proposal would mean that the existing Karangasĕm council had to give up various powers, and not only Anak Agung Agung seriously objected to this, but also all but one of the council members. That one was the Tĕngananese I Nĕngah Tanggu, who declared himself in favour of the proposal for two reasons. "We are all Balinese", he declared, "no matter where we live, and so it is logical for Balinese affairs to be handled by an all-Bali council." And moreover: "We must have confidence in the government at Batavia, which is certainly of good will in regard to the Balinese." Anak Agung Agung Jĕlantik labelled this the answer that might be expected from the *Bali-aga*.

In earlier times the *desa* of Tĕnganan was even more independent of the royal administration than it is today. No services were rendered and no taxes were paid, either in money or in kind. Each year the *desa* presented the ruler a tributary gift in lieu of meeting royal rights such as the claim to property of people dying without children, the usual fees on weddings, and land taxes, and each year a fifth of that gift was returned to the *desa* as a sign that the relationship between the ruler and the village was to continue in the same way.

The war with Sibĕtan cost Tĕnganan a part of its independence. According to the Tĕngananese, this war took place roughly two hundred years ago, and the dating must be more or less accurate, for the *Kaki Wayan Karangasĕm mur ring Juring* of Tĕnganan tradition can, I believe, be identified as the second Balinese prince to hold sway over Karangasĕm and Lombok. This ruler came to the aid of Tĕnganan against its highly remarkable neighbouring *desa* Sibĕtan, but his assistance had to be rewarded by the cession of several *sawahs* (which are still the property of Anak Agung Agung of Karangasĕm and certain private individuals), by the introduction of a *pajĕg* levy for part of the Tĕngananese *sawahs*, and by soccage service to the court. Desiring to protect Tĕnganan against Sibĕtan for all time, Kaki Wayan of Karangasĕm also ordered the creation of a frontier guard of a few families from

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175 Tĕnganan, to whom the *desa* was required to grant all the *sawahs*
628 in the irrigation district Yeh Sayan on a permanent share-crop basis. This frontier community has become Kĕstala, where since then persons of the *desa* who could not be allowed to remain in the *banjar* of Pande have been banished.

In this connection it should be pointed out that according to a report from Controleur Buys Ballot the *pajĕg* (*sawahs* in Naga Sungsang came into being in the following way: two worthies of Karangasĕm, Gusti Kĕtut Mumbul and Gusti Wayan Karang, gave permission to the Tĕngananese I Rana and I Mandra to convert their *tĕgalan* lands into *sawahs* (an act prohibited by *adat*), with the proviso that for the first five years after conversion the full yield was to go to the two *gustis*, and thenceforth two-thirds of it. Later a controversy developed between the descendants of the two Tĕngananese and those of the two *gustis* regarding the exorbitant *pajĕg*, and the ruler took over the *pajĕg* levy and reduced it to one-tenth of the yield.

643 The ruler kept a part of the *pajĕg* rights in his own hands, and
651 passed on a part to court favourites as apanage rights; the latter
628 sort of levy was known as *pajĕg pĕnirian*. He also sold a part of his rights to the *desa* of Tĕnganan, which has continued to collect the *pajĕg* from the *sawah* holders. Some irrigation districts were not subject to the *pajĕg*, and all dry fields were exempt. The *pajĕg* was set once and for all for each irrigation district, and new *sawahs* were *pajĕg*-free. Why certain irrigation districts, namely Yeh Buah, Yeh Singa, and Babitunu, had been exempted from *pajĕg* the Tĕngananese were unable to say, though regarding Yeh Singa it was suggested that the reason may have been that the district did not contain any *sawahs* belonging to the *desa*.

The *pajĕg* was not heavy: for the eleven irrigation districts subject to it, it amounted to a total of roughly 960 imperial hundredweights of paddy, 133 of which were *pajĕg pĕnirian*. Expressed in present-day terms, the total value of the whole *pajĕg* would amount to roughly two hundred forty pounds sterling.

The ruler permitted a reduction in *pajĕg* in case of crop failure; whether such a reduction would be allowed was determined when

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the grain was ripe in the field. The *desa* collected the *pajĕg* and had the paddy threshed, then had it transported to Karangasĕm in the form of husked rice. A sum of sixty doits in cash was also paid with the *pajĕg;* this sum was not accepted until the *pajĕg* had been delivered in full, and was considered as a token indicating that the *pajĕg* had been paid.

Until 1912 this *pajĕg* continued to be paid to the head of the region of Karangasĕm. This is peculiar, for long before that all the revenues which the regional head had earlier collected from the people on the basis of his royal power had been converted into a liberal fixed income paid out of the regional treasury. Apparently the former regional head, Gusti Gĕde Jĕlantik, had regarded this *pajĕg* as a private source of income. That attitude cost the *desa* of Tĕnganan a great deal of money, for in 1912 a *sawah*-tax regulation was introduced, and the new head of the region pointed out that then the Tĕngananese would have to pay double *pajĕg* on their *sawahs* – once to him and once to the regional treasury. He was prepared to waive his *pajĕg* right, though in return for a flat sum of 2,332,800 doits, and the *desa* agreed.

At the same time, however, the *desa*'s lands were made subject to *sawah* and garden taxes, but since a significant part of the land consisted of offering *sawahs*, a fair proportion was exempted from those taxes. The landrent office unfortunately followed a less supple line, exempting only a small number of *sawahs* as temple grounds. The landrent is nowadays collected by the *sĕkahas charik* and transferred to the *pĕnglurah*, who deposits the money with the *sĕdahan agung*, the head of the regional landrent office.

When the Tĕngananese were subjected to soccage service after the war with Sibĕtan, there was also a need for an organization of the persons required to render such service. This gave rise to the system of *tempeks* under the *klihans tempek*, who in turn fall under the jurisdiction of the royal functionary in Puri Kĕlodan at Karangasĕm. The *sangyangs* were exempted from soccage service.

Though under ordinary circumstances services for the ruler were fairly light, in times of war a great deal was demanded of the

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders. At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda*; a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

Maospahit, as the corruption has it. Balinese trace their ancestry to Madjaphit as Americans do to the Pilgrim Fathers. Thousands of temples have shrines named Madjapahit, usually ornamented with the carved head of a deer. Perhaps 90 per cent of the Balinese who give offerings at these temples do not know what the name stands for in historical fact.

14th century to 1906. This was a period of little interchange between Java, a Mohammedanized country, and Bali, which remained Hinduistic. Some trade relations were maintained, chiefly through the intermediacy of the Chinese. All currency in Bali was Chinese cash. Bali, a rich rice producing country, traded its surplus rice to the Chinese for gold, which was in turn beaten up to make golden flowers for the headdresses of children and gold leaf ornamentation for orchestral instruments and ceremonial objects. The "culture system" by which the colonials attempted to modify the agricultural output of Java was not introduced in Bali. With the exception of a small Dutch garrison maintained in the north of the island, Bali was free of European influence, virtually unsubjugated.

1906 *to* 1908. The Dutch, making an incident of the looting of a Chinese vessel which was wrecked on the south shore, landed troops in order to bring the island under control. It was at this time that the famous encounter took place, in which a number of the nobility and their followers marched out in the face of Dutch guns and committed mass suicide, turning their sacred krisses upon themselves. Of the seven ruling kings in Bali, two who resisted were deposed, but close relatives of theirs were installed as regents, so that the continuity of the hereditary ruling line in the several kingdoms was not broken. *Radjas* who capitulated retained their rank, also with the status of regents. Indirect rule was set up, the Dutch official rule linking the island with the administrative center at Batavia, Java.

1908 *to* 1942. Though Bali was now a part of the Netherlands Indies' *Binnenland Bestuur* (Interior Administration), the feeling between Java and Bali continued rather distant. Balinese tended even towards the end of this period, in the 1930's, to look upon Javanese with suspicion. Probably the greatest chasm between these neighboring peoples was the difference in food habits laid down in the differing religions. The Javanese did not eat pig, a favorite Balinese food and one of the chief export products. Dutch ships carrying Balinese pigs

[1] Belo, 1936, p. 12.

[102 cont.]

623 All dèsa business is discussed in these village meetings, including financial matters, and thus the amount of the taxes to be levied is discussed and fixed.

634 Districts. A collection of villages forms a district, at the head of which stands a pambekelgedé or poenggawa. They are [625 702] involved in the management of the dèsa only insofar as matters of policing and army service (service outside the dèsa) are concerned. The grouping into districts, therefore, has no great significance for the ordinary Balinese. This cannot be said of the principalities, the larger political units that developed on Bali and now belong completely to the past.

64 174 Princes. According to Liefrinck (1), the Balinese principali-

1. F.A. Liefrinck, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali (Contributions to Knowledge of the Island of Bali)" Tijdschrift voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië, Vol. 33, p. 347 f.

ties probably came into being in the following manner. In [312 721] former times the various dèsa often had questions to discuss among themselves, especially concerning water for irrigation purposes. Originally, this perhaps led to armed combat, but gradually the parties came to appeal to arbitration by persons in whose judgment they had faith. These persons exercised a growing influence in the course of time. Their descendants knew how to strengthen this and to draw the whole of the administration of justice into their hands. As soon as they succeeded in making themselves masters of the rights to irrigation water and were able to claim payment for the use of it, [103] they [643] became full-fledged Eastern despots. During the period when the Balinese princes had unlimited power, it was in very small [641] measure a blessing for the ordinary people; on the contrary, in most cases it was a heavy burden. The inhabitants had to [651] guard the poeri, the royal residence; the prince placed a tariff

B 833 428 [177 643] [105 cont.] the income of the prince. With the disappearance of royal rule on Bali and Lombok, this evil, the so-called mandjing system, came to an end.

B 586 692 Divorce is possible on Bali, either by unilateral repudiation on the part of the man or by mutual agreement. The divorce decree can also be promulgated by the native court, the council of Kerta.

B 583 A special feature of Balinese marriage is that the bride price, which is usually very large, is actually paid only in exceptional cases; this form of marriage is called mepadik. More commonly the girl is abducted; this abduction, which takes place with the prior knowledge of the girl and her parents, is called merangkat and serves as an escape from all the formalities and heavy payments involved in a bride price marriage. A sacrificial repast is sufficient atonement for the offense against the adat and to avert any possible evil consequences. If the father is recalcitrant, it appears that bride price has to be paid, but in this case it is a smaller one. A bride price four times as high as the normal one has to be paid after a melegandang, an abduction against the will of the girl. Apart from that, the young man must flee with the girl to another village and stay there in hiding for a time. Formerly, the members of the girl's family were even allowed to kill the young man if they caught him within a certain period of time.

B [689 671] [681]

J 101 174 e. Java. We are now approaching Java, the island where, for many reasons, native society is most highly developed (seen, that is, from our Western point of view), and therefore the only jurisdictional communities, except for the independent, native associations, the dèsa, are territorial units. The household [gezin, household or nuclear family] is of great importance, as it is everywhere, but it is not a jurisdictional community, nor is the family [familie], the larger group of relatives. Indeed, in contrast with the situation in so many areas of the Outer Provinces, the family has little significance among the Javanese. Of much greater importance for [106] the Javanese is the dèsa, the native community

J 621 J 592 596 J 621

Ternate OH16
New Guinea OJ1
Bali OF7

T 651 [702] [381 cont.] one to four vessels, kora-kora, completely fitted out, armed, and manned by 30 to 40 men. Moreover, some districts (not all) must keep the sultan supplied with the so-called manusia ratus, that is, 100 adult men, who work only for their maintenance and are relieved from time to time. A few other districts must annually deliver to the sultan a certain quantity of rice, sometimes receiving a small compensation in return. Besides this, there are other obligations which we shall leave unmentioned.

T NG 636 651 We can be brief about the administration of the other islands that belong to the territories of Ternate, Tidore, or Batjan. In the main it is the same as that on Halmahera. As far as New Guinea is concerned, it belongs to the territory of the Sultan of Tidore, at least the north and the northwest coasts. The authority of the Sultan of Tidore is in large part fictive, and NG 223 226 even where it is best established it is limited to levying an annual [382] tribute, to bringing in dried skins of paradise birds, trepang, and tortoise shell.

B 101 643 648 636 The principal states on the Lesser Sunda Islands, primarily on Bali, are Hindu states. There are nine: Boeleleng, Djembrana, Karangasem, Kloenkoeng, Gijanjar, generally called Djanjar, Bangli, Badoeng, Mengoewi, and Tabanan. Each of these states, with the exception of Boeleleng and Djembrana, is governed by its own sovereign. By the treaties concluded with the sovereigns in 1849, after the third Bali expedition, they acknowledged that their states are a part of the Netherlands East Indies and, as such, are subordinate to the supremacy of the Netherlands State. Therefore, they have to fly a Netherlands flag above their own on land and sea and the Government's confirmation is required at their enthronement. Otherwise, these sovereigns are entirely free in their administration. Boeleleng and Djembrana are an exception to this. Boeleleng in 1854 and Djembrana in 1856 were withdrawn from the government of their sovereigns and put directly under our authority.

B 643 564 Finally, the government of the states that are still independent must not be omitted. The sovereign should actually be

[382 cont.]

643 from the Satriya [Kshatriya] caste. All the sovereigns on Bali,
564 however, are from the Wesja [Vaisya] class, with the exception of the ruler of Kloengkoeng. The sovereign of that state is supposed to be a pure Satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung. The rulers of the other states bear the title of Anak agung. The sovereign of Kloengkoeng exercises a kind of supremacy over the others, not only because of his high birth, but also on the strength of his ancestors' conquests over the other states. This
[641] supremacy is very slight, however. Although the princes swear an oath of loyalty and allegiance to him, consult him on important occasions, and call him in as arbiter of their differences, they obey him only insofar as it suits their interests.

Otherwise, the authority of the sovereigns on Bali is fairly
643 autocratic. Indeed, although the sovereign has a council of
645 priests and notables, members of the royal family, who, depend-
642 ing on their [383] caste, bear the title of dewa or gusti, they are entirely dependent on his will. Next to the sovereign stands the mantja magara, or state administrator, in whom the actual government is vested. The sovereign has still other officials who fulfill various functions.

634 A state is divided into a number of districts. At the head of the districts stand governors, the punggawa or pambekel gedé. They are chosen by the people, but under the approval of
622 the sovereign, who often influences the choice. The villages
621 are governed by village chiefs, who bear the name of klijan desa.
624 They are chosen by the people, and this choice is approved by the punggawa and the sovereign. There are often lesser chiefs in a village, section chiefs, klijan bandjar.

642 As I have just noted, the sovereign has an autocratic authority. The subjects are outrageously oppressed and regarded as slaves by their sovereigns, who are faithfully imitated in this
651 by the lesser chiefs. The sovereigns have many sources of dif-
[681] ferent kinds of income. They formerly consisted of the fines that were imposed as punishment; the sale of wrongdoers
[428] sentenced to slavery; the estates of those who died without

564 [409 cont.]

1. brâhmana; 2. satrijâ; 3. wèsijâ; 4. sudra. The caste of the Brahmans, which the [410] priests are chosen, forms the highest rank. Those who belong to it bear the title of hidan or ida, hida-haju or ida-aju, the women idaju. The Brahmans who have [793] proved by study that they have the required knowledge of religion and priests are called ida gĕdé. They also bear the name pandanda, derived from danda = dasta = staff, which they carry in public. Pandanda thus actually means staff bearer. They are also called pandita, a word that only indicates capability and is derived from Sanskrit. In that language pandita means "learned." Still another title of the priests is kertâ, which is more generally used for those who are charged with consulting the codes of law and, as such, have a seat in the law courts.

The Brahmans are higher in rank than the princes and may marry princes' daughters. On the other hand, the princes may not marry women from the caste of the Brahmans. It is a general rule that marriage with a woman from a higher caste is prohibited under penalty of death.

The number of Brahmans on Bali is very considerable and many live in such great poverty that they must make a living by agriculture, fishing, or handiwork.

564 701 562 The caste of the satriya [Kshatriya] is that of the warriors. We have seen that on Java this word means nobleman, which is also the case here; the members have the title of dewa, or dewa-haju if they are women. A section of this caste has the title bagus. According to the original institutions, only the satriya were allowed to carry weapons in defense of the country, and the sovereigns, too, had to belong to it. This institution, however, is so corrupted that nowadays everyone participates in war and the sovereigns are not chosen exclusively from this caste. Only the sovereign of Kloengkoeng must be a pure satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung.

564 ● 643 The caste of the Wesja [Vaisya], the farmers, merchants, and artists, has greater prestige here than in India. All Balinese sovereigns, except the one of Kloengkoeng, belong to it. The

Bali OF7
Malays AN5
Sumatra 001

B1 [410 cont.]
564 title for Wesja is gusti, for the women gusti aju. The sovereigns,
643 however, are called hanak agung or anak agung = exalted, distinguished, or great person.

B1 [411] The caste of the Sudra is the one of the common
564 people. They are entirely subject to the higher castes, so much
198 so that the latter deal with their possessions as they please.
576 Moreover, there is a difference in language between the three higher castes and the Sudra. The former address the latter in the vulgar language (basa sogol, basa dĕgag, basa djaba), whereas the lowest caste speaks to the higher ones in the high language (basa bakti, basa puri), which the higher castes speak to one another.

B1 One can be reduced from a higher caste to a lower one
558 for wrongdoing. Also, after a war the vanquished are sometimes
681 dealt with in this way. Meanwhile, it seems that the caste dif-
727 ference here is gradually beginning to fade.
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B1 The tjĕndĕlă = unfortunates, outcastes, form a separate
564 group which is made up of persons suffering from incurable
164 diseases, especially leprosy, and are banished from society, re-
558 gardless of the caste to which they belong. They drag out a miserable existence in some isolated place.

d. Sumatra

S
M1 Where royal rule exists on Sumatra, one finds a quite
643 marked division into two standings, the nobility and burgher
565 standing. We shall give a few examples, beginning with Palembang. Formerly Palembang formed a state of this name with a sultan at the head, which fell when the sultan was removed on August 9, 1825. The distinction that existed between the nobility and the common class at the time of the sultan's rule continued, however. To the former belonged first of all the
M1 descendants of the sultan, the prijaji, with the title of pangéran,
S
[651 radèn, or other Javanese noble names, depending on their closer
642] or more distant relationship with the sovereign. The prijaji at